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economic system of the community and also of the place occupied in it by the various castes.

Most of the castes have a major craft or occupation which is their traditional monopoly. Besides this they are free to exploit certain other subsidiary sources of livelihood also. The Brahmin, besides functioning as the village priest, may also cultivate his land. The potter, the barber and the washerman occupy themselves mainly with their respective professions, but there is nothing to prevent them from accepting occasional work as field labourers. In fact, during the busy agricultural season, when there is a heavy demand on the limited labour supply of the local group, efforts are made to persuade the artisan caste to send their womenfolk to work in the fields for daily wages. Notwithstanding this, a caste is identified with some occupation or other, and established social usage largely governs the modes of practice of this particular occupation.

In the chapter on Social Structure mention has been made of the fourteen village menials who work as semi-government functionaries, generally in return for the grant of a piece of rent-free land by the government. Their work lies mainly in the fields of their caste monopolies. It comprises personal services to touring government officials, as well as certain routine duties for the village as a whole.

A closer scrutiny of the economic system and its consequent bonds of mutual obligation and expectation reveals four major types of economic dealings and obligations within the caste network into which the community is organized. These are:

(i) Obligations to render to the agriculturists occupational services having a direct bearing on their agricultural activities. No immediate payment is expected for services of this kind. The agriculturists get their ploughs and other implements repaired by the carpenter every year as a matter of routine. Periodically the carpenter supplies new implements. In return for this, twice every year the cultivator gives a share to the carpenter when the crops are harvested. Services of an agricultural nature are generally expected and rendered on this basis. The extent of both the service and the payment is generally fixed by tradition, and depends very much on the size of the holding which the agriculturist is cultivating. Some castes offer their occupational services, even of a non-agricultural nature, to the agriculturists on the tacit understand-

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ing that they too will have their share after the crops are harvested. 437 ●
Thus, the potter periodically supplies the agriculturist with earth- 463
enware and pots for his normal requirements. The barber does the hair-cutting and shaving of the members of the agriculturist's family on this basis. The washerman, too, follows this rule in so far as established cultivators of the village are concerned.

(ii) Obligations to render some occupational services, to the agri- 437
culturists as well as to many non-agriculturists, having a bearing 463
on their socio-religious life. Castes such as the barber, the washer- 561
man, the carpenter and the potter, and the Madiga have definite functions in the rites and ceremonies connected with the major crises of life. These are performed by them as a matter of routine, without any direct negotiations regarding the wages that they may expect in return for their services. Convention has fixed the basic minimum, and in the course of ritual duties, at different points, a part of this payment has to be made. Depending on their status and financial position, people pay something more for these services at the completion of the ceremony.

(iii) Obligations to render some occupational services to other 437
occupational castes in return for their traditional services. As an 463
example, it may be pointed out that a barber will attend to the grooming of hair and shaving of the members of a weaver's family to which he is attached. No cash payment is either expected or made. However, every year the weaver will give him a few yards of cloth and possibly a *sari* or two for his wife.

(iv) Occupational services rendered with an expectation of cash payment in return for the work. Casual visitors to the village can get the services of the barber only when they pay cash. For making a bullock cart, or for preparing timber for use in the construction of a house, a carpenter would first settle his wages and then undertake to do the work. In this respect he would not make an exception even in the case of established cultivators to whose households his family may have been attached for several years, even for decades. The Vaddar stone-workers also usually undertake an assignment only when the obligations on both sides are settled.

For most of the castes economic dealings falling in category (iv), [434]
described above, are of a casual nature, though their economic
returns through them may be quite substantial. With a few excep- 476
tions, most of the castes have to accept a basis of reciprocity in

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They mostly hunt small game, and are adept in the use of traps, snares and dogs. At the time of these investigations there were six guns in the village; and occasionally their owners went out shooting. Similarly, fishing is done by very few people, mostly by some young Muslim men. They do not use fishing nets and traps, and practically the only method employed by them for catching the fish is that of using the rod, hook and bait. The large tank in the vicinity of the village could afford a good supply of fish, but the absence of the fishing caste in the village population leaves this possibility almost unexplored. Fishermen from the neighbouring villages, however, periodically come to the tank.

The surroundings of Shamirpet offer very few opportunities for the collection of wild food. Around the village there are not many fruit-bearing trees. Mango and *jamun* (rose apple, *Eugenia jambolana*) fruits are mostly eaten while they are still unripe by the village boys. Parties of children and young people periodically go to pick wild berries when they are in season. These are mostly eaten on the spot. When wild figs are ripe children collect and eat them. Another item of food eagerly sought by everyone is the *chikur*—tender tamarind leaves. These leaves are curried, as well as pickled and preserved. Honey is collected by some men of lower castes and inferior social status, whenever they can spot a comb. Medicinal herbs, roots, tubers and barks are collected according to need.

Utilization of forest resources is not open to everyone now. From the surrounding scrub jungle villagers can collect only a limited quantity of fuel, as this—as well as getting timber—is regulated by the Forest Department of the government, and permits can be obtained only by making scheduled payments.

Different kinds of coloured earth used in washing walls and decorating the interiors of homes, as well as the ordinary requirements for the construction of houses, can be freely collected by the people. The Vaddars can break and shape stones without having to pay for them.

6. NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

In an effort to explain the broad outlines of the economic organization of the community, the traditional occupations and functions of the different castes have already been described. With reference to the inter-relations between the agriculturists

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and some of the occupational castes, four different types of economic dealings have been mentioned: a system of family affiliation under which the family of the occupational caste attaches itself to a family or families of agriculturists for rendering to them services in their agricultural pursuits, similar affiliation for performing definite functions in connection with socio-religious rites and ceremonies, barter of professional services between occupational castes, and finally the rendering of services within the domain of caste monopolies for cash payment. Six occupational castes assist the agriculturists by rendering them services within the field of their functional specialization. It will be interesting to analyse the exact contribution made by each of these four types of economic dealings to their total earnings. The averages in the following table have been calculated from family budgets of the different castes in question. Where the number of families was small, such as among potters, carpenters and blacksmiths, 100% sample was taken; in others a 50% random sample was taken. However, it is necessary to point out that the budgets were made mostly on the basis of verbal estimates of the families. Only substantial payments received during a period of three years were checked. In making these calculations income from the cultivation of land belonging to the family as well as from agricultural labour lying outside the occupational specialization of the family have not been taken into account.

TABLE XI

Caste	*Percentage of income from:*				
	Traditional system of family affiliation	*Services at socio-religious ceremonies*	*Barter of occupational services*	*Services for cash payment*	*Miscellaneous*
Potter	18	3	1	78	–
Carpenter	60	1	2	36	1
Blacksmith	60	–	2	37	1
Barber	40	12	2	43	3
Washerman	30	10	2	55	3
Madiga	50	8	–	40	2

From the above table it will be clear that the carpenters, blacksmiths and barbers derive 63%, 62% and 54% respectively of their total income from one or more types of traditional arrange-

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ment. As all the Madiga families in the village are not affiliated to the agriculturists, in these calculations their average income from these sources comes to only 58%, although a few decades ago, when the traditional system worked better, it must have been considerably more. The potters earn much more by selling their earthenware in the markets than by their traditional arrangements with the families of agriculturists. Similarly, some of the washermen have now a clientele in the city. Twice or thrice every month they collect clothes from them, delivering at the same time the previous washing. The barbers have a limited number of clients in the neighbouring villages. All the castes in this group derive an appreciable portion of their total earnings from private work done outside the system of traditional arrangements.

The economy of the village is only partially self-sufficient. The traders, both Komtis and Muslims, buy their goods wholesale from the city and retail them in their shops in the village. People often buy their requirements from the city if they happen to go there. They frequently visit the weekly bazaars also. The weavers buy their spindles from Hyderabad wholesalers, and depend for the sale of their cloth on the cluster of several nearby villages. The customers of the goldsmith are also distributed in several villages of the neighbourhood. The Gaondla produces all the fermented palm-juice required in the settlement from the trees around the village, but he has also to keep a certain quantity of liquor distilled in the city for such customers as may order it occasionally. The occupation of stone-breaking takes the Vaddars to several villages in the neighbourhood where there are no members of their caste. Finally, Madiga families acquiring a reputation for their skill in curing and tanning hides, or in their leather-work, are also commissioned by outsiders occasionally to do some work for them.

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reason they happen to be interested. In former times, as a general rule, the decisions of the village council were accepted unconditionally. Even to-day none can defy them openly, but often the cases are taken to superior law courts and factionalism within the council is exploited to get its decisions altered or modified.

In the traditional economic structure of the community the following characteristics were important:

(i) Occupation was determined by the caste of the individual.

(ii) Mobility was limited and people had great attachment to the settlement.

(iii) Different castes were integrated into the overall pattern of village economy on the basis of their functional specialization. For their co-operative labour payment was made in kind at the time of harvesting.

(iv) There was barter of occupational services between the various artisan and occupational castes.

It has already been pointed out that in the last few decades the occupational character of caste has undergone some modifications. In place of their traditional occupations people have started accepting other vocations. The traditional system of caste interdependence under which artisan and occupational castes attach themselves to the families of agriculturists is still there. But the attached labourers of untouchable castes are showing signs of discontent and figures for the last ten years show twenty-one migrations of Madiga families to the city. Barbers, washermen and carpenters also openly express preference for a basis of cash payment as that enables them to negotiate and bargain and puts an end to the uncertainty and occasional high-handedness of the employer under the old system. The traditional arrangements involving the barter of occupational services between artisan castes too is now gradually breaking down and is giving place to a basis of cash payment.

In the ritual structure of the community no significant variations have been found. Under the Muslim régime, Hindus co-operated in the public ceremonies of the Muslims. With the spread of the revivalist and reformist ideas of the Arya Samaj greater interest was taken in the Hinduism of the holy books. Preachers invited from the city added to the folklore of the people some fragments of traditional Hindu mythology. However, the regional cults as well as the village cults still continue to retain their former position.

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242 The people think that these are all visitations of goddesses and [782] accordingly offer a sheep, or pig, or a white hen or cock as a sacrifice.

Cattle diseases—Kurama.—The ox or cow when it suffers from 232 this refuses food, shivers, suffers as from cold. *Domma*—Shivering, swelling of the stomach and purging. *Chalidomma*—Swelling starts at some portion of the body, extends to the neck and proves fatal. *Nalupu jadyam*—Purging and dying. *Gundasala*—The heart bursts in this. *Musara*—Ulceration all over and refusal of food.

Medicines are prepared out of omum, assafœtida, turmeric, pepper, onions and like articles and some medicinal herbs found in woods and forests.

Up till now no assistance has been given by the Agricultural department.

313 Fuel is obtained from the jungle near by. Wood for building and implements is obtained from the Avulapalle forest, a magnificent forest abounding in good game, belonging to the zamindari itself. The distance from here is about a dozen miles.

The village.—The depressed castes live in circular thatched huts. 342 Everything is dirty inside and out. The dwelling is circular consisting of but one room which serves for all purposes. Generally the diameter of the house is about 22 feet.

There are thirty houses in the caste village; three are terraced, none tiled, one earthen-roofed, all the rest thatched.

[437] The ryots occasionally exchange lands to get their lands continuous. Field huts are used only at harvest time.

463 *Subsidiary industries.*—There are no weavers at all now. Handspinning was once practised when cotton was raised locally, [276] but abandoned about thirty-five years ago, because cotton is no longer raised.
465

Crafts.	Working time.	Earnings.	Remarks.
Blacksmith ...	About 75 per cent.	Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 per annum.	He does not work every month. It is at harvest times that he gets mamuls called *thiripamu* and *mera*. These amount to about three or four putties; 1 putti = 160 Madras measures [i.e., 400 lb.—Ed.]
Dommara ...	Almost always.	Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 per annum.	Makes wooden combs.
Potter	Do.	Rs. 70 or Rs. 80 per annum.	Not only sells to others, but also gets the same mamuls as the blacksmith from the ryots at harvest time.

438 *Village trade.*—Wood required for agricultural and industrial purposes is purchased in the forests belonging to the zamindari above mentioned. Iron implements are purchased in Punganur, or Chouldepalli.

The nearest market is Kandur, a village 3 miles off.

Whatever is grown in the village and required for household purposes is retained by the villagers. The rest is all sold.

361 There is a local road which passes by this village running from 489 Somala to Kalikiri. This local road connects with the trunk road running from Punganur to Chandragiri. The nearest railway

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871 *Education.*—A day school has recently been started with 40 on the roll, 25 average attendance. Most of the pupils come from other [212] villages. Three adults are able to read the vernacular. Eight can write their signatures. The karnam alone can read and write well. About five or six have learned to read and write but have lost the [191] ability latterly. No one knows English.

There are about 50 or 60 books, all in Telugu. Of these about 214 seven or eight relate to the Hindu Law and to village administration. The rest relate to the Puranas.

624 *Village administration.*—There is no panchayat.

There is a monigar and a karnam and two talaiyaris. The karnam keeps the accounts of the village, and the monigar is the village magistrate and collects the kist. The talaiyaris are the servants attached to the village. There is no sanitary administration.

625 The nearest Police station is situated at a distance of 12 miles in Sodam, which station was formerly at Kandur.

In recent years there has been practically no crime. About five years ago there was a murder, never detected.

691 For the present there is only one case belonging to this village pending judgment at the Sessions Court, Chittoor. This is about a land dispute.

Ordinarily disputes are settled here in the presence of the monigar, karnam, and some leading men of the village.

178 *History and prospects.*—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops. The ryots have been impoverished and consequently obliged to get into the clutches of creditors.

For the present there does not seem to be scope for economic improvement. The tanks are all getting silted up. The bunds are getting decreased in height. Recently one bund burst. The persons concerned are very poor to bear the cost of repairs. But if the repairs are executed then there might be some improvement and the area of irrigated lands might be extended.

• 437 More wells could be sunk with advantage. They are not sunk owing to lack of funds with the ryots. People sell land owing to the fact that by doing so only they can support their families and themselves. Land is bought by well-to-do persons as a sort of investment and also because it is sometimes had at a price lower than its right worth.

167 In recent years there has been no emigration at all. But about ten years ago two persons of Yekili caste emigrated to Natal. They have not since returned. Their emigration was due to their failure to get a living here.

Such movements have generally no visible effect on the life of the village.

325 Another interesting point is that smelting ovens are seen all round the village in a state of ruin. It seems that formerly (about thirty or forty years ago) iron ore found all round the village was smelted here locally, and that this was sufficient for the local demand. But now no such practice exists. However iron is still found in the shape of filings in large or small quantities round about. Moreover this iron is held to be of good quality. More detailed information can be had from the North Arcot District Manual, wherein it is mentioned.